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REBELLION RIGHT AND LEFT

De Gaulle's trip fails to satisfy Moslems or French in Algeria

By Kumar Goshal

FRENCH PREMIER Charles de Gaulle last week made a whirlwind tour of Algeria, where he made some oracular pronouncements in the manner of 19th century empire builders, often referring to himself in the third person.

Returning to Paris, he told his Cabinet that "something enormous" happened in Algeria by his very presence, which should settle all Algerian problems. He added: "For the Moslems my coming to power appears to have been both a promise and a guaranty." But Moslems, French settlers and conspirators who put de Gaulle in power thought otherwise.

The French in Algeria did not seem too enthusiastic about the man they themselves had placed on a pedestal. They disliked the members of de Gaulle's Cabinet, and forcibly prevented two of them from appearing on the platform with the general in Algiers. They bitterly resented the fact that de Gaulle had not included in his Cabinet the leaders of the insurrection. When de Gaulle spoke before carefully prearranged audiences, the crowd reserved its greatest ovations for Jacques Soustelle and paratroop Gen. Jacques Massu.

CONFLICTING REPORTS: Leon Delbecque, vice president of the Algerian Public Safety Committee and the alleged mastermind of the pro-de Gaulle conspiracy, publicly sneered at the make-up of the Cabinet. Massu openly called on de Gaulle to alter his government. There were contradictory reports about the way de Gaulle handled his dissatisfied supporters.

According to one report, the Premier sharply told Massu that all officers were to obey orders and warned the Public Safety Committee not to "trespass or substitute" itself "for legal authority."

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CAN DE GAULLE MUZZLE MASSU?

Gen. Jacques Massu, the paratroopers' leader who supervised the torture of Algerian resistance fighters and led the putsch for de Gaulle, last week seemed to think his hero was too mild, too tinged with republicanism. He offered a string of demands which nettled de Gaulle who thinks France is big enough for only one savior at a time.

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CLOSE HARMONY IN MOSCOW MEETING

U. S. businessmen seek markets in socialist world

By Elmer Bendiner

"PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE," hailed by the Left, mistrusted by the Liberals, condemned by the rabid red-hunters, has become a rallying cry for top U.S. businessmen.

Journal of Commerce publisher Eric Ridder and editor H. E. Luedicke flew to Moscow last March and had perhaps the friendliest conversation ever held between socialists and capitalists. Khrushchev hailed them as "the first swallows of spring." Ridder commented later:

"Since the politicians thus far have been unable to break down the wall of suspicion that exists between the capitalist and socialist worlds, it is at least worth a try to let businessmen attempt to overcome the existing impasse. This cannot be done by such political maneuvers as 'calling someone's bluff' or persistently questioning his good faith."

Khrushchev, too, seemed relieved at not having to deal with politicians. Diplomatic negotiations, he said, might not lead at once to liquidating the military bases but "with the development of trade and the expansion of business contacts, military bases and airfields will gradually overgrow with grass, for they will lose their significance. And then we shall actually secure peace throughout the world, we shall secure, as we call it briefly, peaceful co-existence."

Khrushchev said he thought they had reached perfect agreement on that point and Ridder said: "Undoubtedly." The entire interview went that harmoniously. When Khrushchev said that "the current recession in American industry could be eliminated on a sound basis" by trade with the socialist world, including China, Ridder broke in to say that the **Journal of Commerce** advocates trade with China.

BRASS TACKS: That sentiment was seconded in May by Cyril Magnin, president of the San Francisco Port Authority, who said that to continue the ban on China trade would "endanger our leadership in the free world."

Early in June Khrushchev got down to brass tacks and in a letter to President

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FIVE YEARS AGO THE ROSENBERGS WERE EXECUTED

Fight goes on in Sobell's 8th year in prison

FIVE YEARS AGO THIS WEEK at 8:02 and 8:08 p.m. Friday, June 19, 1953, first Julius Rosenberg, then his wife Ethel, died in the electric chair at Sing Sing Prison in Ossining, N.Y., for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage. Their lives were taken in cruel haste before sundown, to avoid desecration of the Jewish Sabbath, after the full Supreme Court had been recalled from vacation to overrule a stay granted by Justice William O. Douglas on grounds that they might have been wrongly tried under the Espionage Act of 1917.

Their trial, conviction and sentencing occupied the month in 1951 beginning with March 6 and ending April 5, less than a year after their arrests in 1950—Julius on July 17 and Ethel on Aug. 11. Tried with them, convicted and sentenced to 30 years in prison was Morton Sobell, a college mate of Rosenberg, who was kidnaped by agents of the FBI while vacationing with his family in Mexico and brought back across the border at Laredo to be arrested on Aug. 18 on charges of conspiring with the Rosenbergs to commit espionage.

The severity of the sentences, by Federal Judge Irving S. Kaufman, caused considerable protest but it was not until this newsweekly, in a series written by William A. Reuben in the summer and fall of 1951, began to examine the discrepancies in the trial record, that suspicion of injustice and perhaps frameup became widespread. A committee provisionally headed by Reuben was organized by the GUARDIAN to publicize the case and insure financing of the appeals.

AS A RESULT, the facts in the Rosenberg-Sobell case were brought to world attention. Millions throughout the world pleaded for mercy for the Rosenbergs, young parents of two small boys, and even Pope Pius intervened twice with pleas for clemency, first to President Truman, then to President Eisenhower. But all the appeals, to the courts as well as to both Presidents, went unheeded.

Following the execution of the Rosenbergs, efforts of many who had pleaded for them were renewed in behalf of Sobell, then in Alcatraz Prison in San Francisco Bay. But Sobell's appeals, too, have met with rejection at each turn, most recently when the Supreme Court last fall refused for the third time to accept the case for review. However, in February public protests prevailed against his continued imprisonment in Alcatraz, and he was moved to Atlanta Penitentiary in Georgia. A current campaign seeks concurrence of 1,000,000 Americans in a plea for Presidential intervention, either to pardon him or to grant him a new trial.

Sobell never took the witness stand at his trial, because his counsel were convinced that the prosecution had failed to make a case against him. The only witness against him was one Max Elitcher, a friend since high school days and a college mate of both Sobell's and Rosenberg's.

(Continued on Page 7)

THE MAIL BAG

Double-duty dollars

GARY, IND.

I am now collecting my Buck-of-the-Month sustaining dollars by selling trial subs to friends or friends who would like to see friends get it but never get around to it, etc. This is due to the shortened work week but you know it really isn't a bad idea.

For your information, I keep coming across the story that "I used to get the GUARDIAN but I didn't like it, too opinionated, etc." Well I think such commentary reflects changes within a political climate that reflected itself in people as well as the paper but in many cases the people were far ahead of the paper. Nevertheless I feel the GUARDIAN reflects that change in articles on the Kibbutz and the U.A.R. sitting side by side and I wonder what a thought-through campaign aimed at recapturing old readership would gain.

The key to the campaign is not that one should agree with the GUARDIAN's position on all matters (for example, folks in Gary overwhelmingly disagree on your political outlook) but that the GUARDIAN can help broaden the vista of every progressive-minded person in the U. S.

Bob Kates

Brickbat

FOREST HILLS, N. Y.

I'm glad your un-American sheet is going down the drain and will rot like the **Daily Worker.** Did you really expect the American people will give up their American way of life for Socialist - Communist slavery? You must have had rubbed your hands with glee, the sheckles you are going to receive and what fine comisar you'l make. You forgot what happened to Trotzky they chopped his head off. My advise to you is get down on your knees before the American flag and ask for forgivnes. Repent for your sins.

A. E. Wynn

Sound & realistic

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

You cannot divorce domestic problems from foreign policy for they are interdependent. Our domestic problems do not exist in an isolationist vacuum. So let us form a new political party that is sound and realistic on foreign as well as domestic policy and beware of the anti-Sovieteers who will seek to dominate it.

Frances Hanlin

Bastille Day

DETROIT, MICH.

When the generals in Algeria defied the French government, Pflimlin refused to recognize that these were disloyal generals. They were calling for de Gaulle, and Pflimlin's government was shouting to "save the Republic," yet troops and materials were kept up by the government to the rebel generals. In a number of instances, Pflimlin and Rene Coty demonstrated how to betray the people by acts of this kind, until finally, seeing no capitalist alternative, they went through a series of Pflip-Pflops to pave the way for de Gaulle. After saying he would never resign while the assembly voted for him, the only way left open for Pflimlin to resign was not to "count" the votes of the Communist Party, the largest party in France.

The Communist Party was consistently treated as not wanted. The French government insulted them, spit on them, degraded them. Then they announced that they won't even count the votes of the CP, as if it didn't exist! And so when the vote of confidence was called for, the CP voted: "Yes, Pflimlin, we have confidence in you." (??) And the method of struggle employed by the CP outside the government: to call for demonstrations to support Pflimlin's government. (??). This is the same government that waged the "dirty" war in Algeria; that sent supplies to de Gaulle supporters, banned "red" meetings of the leftist parties, and the CP expects the French workers to come out in militant support of that!

I think that there is a revolutionary situation in France today. If the Communist Party of France is to oppose de Gaulle, they must offer a better alternative, namely, socialism. That means opposition to Pflimlin, war in Algeria, and it means the formation of a working class government. They must call for the rank-and-file soldiers now operating under the insurgent generals to organize and obey their own committees.

"Call for the Socialist Revolution now?" some will ask, "But the U. S. will intervene to prevent any Communist-led insurrection." To the people who would say that, and many of them are CPer's, I suggest they look at the odds that Lenin flew in the face of, with a poorer, smaller working class, and the enemy armies at their borders.

Robert Fink

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Rep. Jack Crane believes in propriety, even after death.

The Concordia lawmaker introduced a bill Wednesday requiring ladies to be hired to dress female corpses.

"I just don't think it's right for a man to do that," Crane said. "I never thought about it much until a lady from Minden called me and asked me to introduce the bill."

—Baton Rouge, La., **Morning Advocate, May 29**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. D. S., Jackson, La.

In a nutshell

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Some would have us believe that the workers are to blame for the recession. They say that the unions have forced wages up, resulting in inflation. This is not so.

The truth is that the big employers are mostly to blame. General Electric, Proctor and Gamble, PG&E and Sears and Roebuck made profits, after taxes, ranging from $67,807,000 to $823,791,000. And this does not take into account the hidden profits, tax-free expense accounts and executive salaries running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Compare the increase in profits with the increase in wages and you will see who gets the lion's share of rising prices. And as most workers are continually broke, they cannot buy what they produce, resulting in our current recession.

Rose Jersavitz

Buy now, pay later

LOMBARD, ILL.

Instalment buying is in my opinion more or less of a curse, and it is fostered by those who are not prompted by any philanthropic interest in having the multitude provided with their new gadgets, but for the sake of increased sales and correspondingly increased profits. What happens to the poor suckers when they are unable to keep up their payments, and the clauses in fine print (which few read) go into effect, is no concern of theirs, unless they are likely to be inconvenienced by repossessing the goods. Nevertheless, is there not something to be said in criticism of those who feel they must purchase everything offered for sale whether prudent or not? I was brought up to practice what in former days was termed thrift. How many people today ever think of self-denial as a discipline?

M. W. Sherwood

Guardian forum

ANAHEIM, CALIF.

On May 16, the first Orange County, Calif., NATIONAL GUARDIAN Discussion Forum was held. It proved a very successful affair with 22 GUARDIAN readers of 60 hereabouts present.

Martin Hall was the speaker and he gave a very effective presentation on the topic: "Socialism's Challenge to the West."

What is instructive about our experience is that the GUARDIAN can be one of the centers of bringing together the American Left.

A. Appel, Chairman

Gold!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

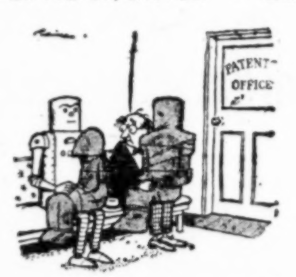
American progressives are like a bunch of amateur gold miners, as naive and un-theoretical-minded. I'm one of those prospectors who has grown tired of "a gold mine around every corner."

I honestly admit that I have been a failure, I have merely touched "fool's gold." I think it is high time the progressive prospectors reviewed the road they are on and where it leads.

The GUARDIAN can provide an important service by organizing us prospectors around the study of "Great Progressive Books," so that we do not remain naive, but become better equipped to assay the gold around us, the American people, and be better able to help it pan out for a peaceful world and a progressive America. I recommend Paul A. Baran's **The Political Economy of Growth,** 320 pp., for a starter.

D. Goodrow

$5 from Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y. 14. —Ed.



Daily Express, London

Shameful blot

DETROIT, MICH.

Farm failures, ruinous surpluses, bulging warehouses, billions of federal funds going for agricultural mustard plasters. Our national leadership can think only of the embarrassment to its political promises of these surpluses. The existence of such a situation in this rich land is a shameful blot on our national honor—on our flag.

Eino Hiltunen

Stability

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Some time back when we had all that prosperity Wall Street said we should have five or six million out of work, to act as a stabilizer.

Now, that is what we have; so why talk about recession, when we are stabilized?

R. E. Boe

GBS Super-Service

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Yesterday I received 100 Kanco Razor blades by 5c postage from the Guardian Buying Service and today I received another 100 blades. I tried one last night. I am very well pleased with the way it shaves. I can recommend them to anyone. Thanking you for this service.

Winton Alden Smith

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REPORT TO READERS

Some encouraging news

NEW YORKERS convening June 13-14-15 to consider entering independent-socialist candidates in the N.Y. State elections this fall had before them encouraging word from California.

There (see P. 3) Dr. Holland Roberts, clearly identified to the voters of his state as a socialist, got well over 13% of the total vote in a four-man non-partisan campaign for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, conducted along with the state primaries June 3.

Dr. Roberts—for further identification—headed the California Labor School in San Francisco until it closed last year. The school was comparable to the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York, which also closed last year. Both schools were under attack by the Attorney-General as Communist. Dr. Roberts' school was closed by Treasury Dept. padlock, on the pretext that the school was not entitled to tax-exempt status and therefore owed back taxes.

A SIMILAR INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST COALITION to that now shaping up in New York sponsored Dr. Roberts' campaign; and Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for president, was his campaign manager. The campaign was low-cost but resourceful, broadcasting spot announcements in Spanish and Portuguese as well as English, and making the most of radio and TV opportunities all over the state.

The New Yorkers got further encouragement from California in a letter to the GUARDIAN from Anna Louise Strong, who wrote:

"I am one of the thousands who has read the eloquent Call to an Independent-Socialist Conference by my brilliant New York friends. I applaud its caustic analysis of the political machines of our country, their commitment to a depression-ridden system. I applaud it word by word."

Miss Strong's letter was written before the results in the race involving Dr. Holland Roberts became known, but she was exultant over the results of the California primaries "in which we buried our Formosa-promoter and labor-baiter, William Knowland, so deep that he might find it hard to come alive again."

Miss Strong interprets Knowland's overwhelming rejection as a cross-filed candidate for governor in the Democratic primary as a repudiation by California Democrats of their war party. She comments that "the American people—as was once said of God—move in a mysterious way their wonders to perform." And while she wishes the New York Conference well, she asserts for her home state that "if anyone in California splits the vote now piling up against Knowland next November, that will be betrayal for the cause of world peace."

WE EXPECT to hear more from California on this point, since Knowland will be opposed by California's Democratic attorney-general Pat Browne for governor, whereas his vacated Senate seat will be contested by the present Republican governor Goodwin Knight and Democratic Rep. Claire Engle. We share what must be a universal hope that Knowland's political career can be ended this year once and for all. Yet another Californian for whom we of the GUARDIAN have the deepest respect, Reuben Borough (who once got more than 500,000 votes running as the IPP candidate against Knowland for the Senate), says the following in his fine chapter in Miss Helen Alfred's recent compilation of essays, **Toward a Socialist America:**

"The commitments to the **status quo** of the 'old parties' . . . rule them out as agents of a changing order.

"Specifically as to the Democratic Party, the fallacy of any strategy of invasion and capture must never be obscured. Adventures of this sort by American radicals have uniformly failed—the 'capturers' wind up the 'captured'."

And in labor historian Philip Foner's essay in the same stimulating book ($1.50 in paper covers, Peace Publications, P.O. Box 164, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y.) we find this statement, written in late 1957:

"It is not an exaggeration to say that the opportunity of bringing the message of socialism to the American workers has rarely been as great as it is today."

Mr. Foner lists eight hard-to-beat arguments for this point of view and concludes that socialist-minded forces have the duty of "raising in the course of the day-to-day struggles the issue of independent political action, with the ultimate goal of socialism."

ANOTHER OLD FRIEND, Max Bedacht, once head of the International Workers Order, gives a "Hurrah!" for the N.Y. Conference and adds the following:

"It was about time to break the recent tendency . . . to turn socialism into a religion, to believe in, to pray for, but not to do anything about."

—THE GUARDIAN

THE THREE FORCES OF FRANCE:

The Army, the fascists—and the disunited Left

PARIS

AFTER ONE WEEK of de Gaulle government, the shouting and the delirium are over in Algeria and the press headlines are quieting down; but the sober realization is beginning to sink in that no savior can work a miracle solution.

De Gaulle, who rode to power on the strength of a military putsch, began his Premiership with a series of high-sounding speeches that have settled nothing. The hard, real problems—Algeria in particular—were no closer to a real solution. The stubborn facts—the interest groups, the economic ties, the basic conflicts—remained.

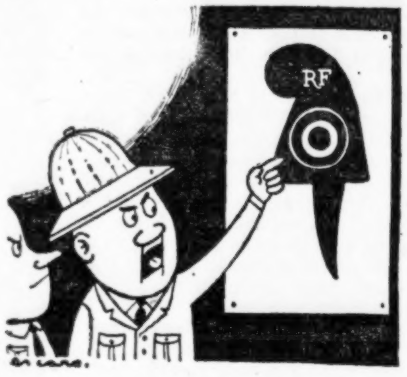
Many troubled questions were being asked on all sides. But de Gaulle remained as mystical as his legend. In some of his fine words those on the Right saw reason for applause, because they tried to find what they were looking for. But there has never been so much contradictory "interpretation" in the press and radio, and the result is more confusion.

A CURIOUS VACUUM: Parliament is on vacation for an indefinite time. In the curious political vacuum thus created, this is how people reacted:

- Some (on the moderate Left) devised this rule of conduct: "Let all Republicans assemble around de Gaulle; don't let him become a prisoner of the Right." But de Gaulle does not seem to be the kind of man who will let himself be carried off in any given direction if enough people favor that direction.
- Many (on the moderate Right) pretend that, drawing his strength from the Army, the general will gradually do away with the openly pro-fascist Public Safety Committee. It is true that the extremists had to take a back seat during the general's trip to Algeria, and that they failed to get Soustelle named governor of Algeria. But it is not likely that a little cold water will discourage the Public Safety people in Algiers at a time when hundreds of these committees, secretly formed during the May insurrection, are now coming into the open and getting ready for action.

THE THREE FORCES: The political life of the country right now has too many unknowns to permit sound predictions. But the future will be played out among three forces:

- **The army.** The army has emerged as a new element on the political scene. It has played its game well. It has imposed the man of its choice as head of government in Paris—and there it has created a dangerous precedent. The army is a political force determined to stay.
- **The fascists.** With Algeria as a base, carefully built up relay stations all over France and abundant financial means, the coming months present for the fascists a unique opportunity to unify into perhaps the strongest fascist party France has ever known.
- **The progressive Left.** Having been able, in the last days of the Fourth Republic, to count itself, the Left faces the difficult period ahead with a measure of confidence. The one big issue—cause of its past failures, key to its future success—is the question of unity. Last month not even the shadow of military dictatorship broke down the No-Popular-Front-Government-at-any-price stand of some socialists and some liberal deputies. In his last speech before the Parliament was sent into forced vacation, Mendès-France amazed many when he attacked de Gaulle and the Communist Party in the same breath. It appears that nothing but a profound shock will overcome this resistance to Left-wing unity.



Liberation, Paris

—Target for tonight.

Now there are two kinds of shocks: the violent, galvanizing shock, and the slow, disintegrating one. Events will show which shock the new political conditions will provide.

Anne Bauer

BEHIND THE BARRICADES
Lebanese rebels dig in on a Tripoli street corner

THE THREAT OF INTERVENTION

U. S. aid to discredited regime keeps Lebanon's civil war hot

WASHINGTON'S insistence on keeping Lebanon wrapped in the Eisenhower Doctrine resulted in renewed clashes last week between the pro-West government of President Camille Chamoun and the Opposition trying to force his resignation.

The month-old civil war in Lebanon was quiescent for a while as the Arab League, meeting in Benghazi, Libya, took up Chamoun's charges that the United Arab Republic was interfering in Lebaese affairs.

But fighting broke out again as Information Minister Clovis Khazen, after receiving shipments of U.S. arms including tanks, announced that the government and the army were removing "the kid gloves with which they have so far handled this small rebellion."

THE NEW BRINK: According to **U. S. News & World Report** (6/6), Washington was prepared to do more than merely send arms to keep Lebanon under a pro-West government. Both Washington and London, it said, having "decided secretly to send troops to Lebanon" if necessary to keep Chamoun in power, had placed "the American Sixth Fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean and British airborne forces on Cyprus . . . on standby alert when the Lebanese trouble began." It added that the U.S. and Britain "were on the brink of war in the Middle East in the past two weeks."

Reuters and **Newsweek** reported other U.S. and British steps to save Chamoun. **Reuters** said (5/28) that the British Admiralty had assigned four destroyers to "Royal Navy units standing off Lebanon." **Newsweek** reported (6/2) that the U.S. had sent Air Force Globemasters to Frankfurt, Germany, "to provide logistic support for the Marines in case Lebanese President Chamoun should request the landing of American troops."

U.S.-British intervention in Lebanon was apparently averted when Chamoun was persuaded to take the issue to the Arab League and the UN.

WIDESPREAD DISCONTENT: An observer in Beirut wrote the GUARDIAN:

"The present situation grew out of the fraudulent May, 1957, elections, which brought into Parliament a majority which was pro-Chamoun and pro-West. On May 30 last year, a series of protest strikes and demonstrations and uprisings against the Chamoun government's foreign policy began here, and spread to Tripoli and Zagharta in the North, Saida and Sur (ancient Tyre) in the South, and Hermel and Deir El-Asha'ir in the Northeast. They were ruthlessly suppressed by government forces.

"Discontent, however, continued to grow as the people accused the government of violating the 1943 National Charter by adhering to the Eisenhower Doctrine. The Charter stated that all political parties and religious groups in Lebanon must protect the country's independence; keep it free from pacts and agreements that might hamper independent action; remain neutral between the East and the West but friendly to both; maintain solidarity with sister Arab states.

"The climax came when it became known that President Chamoun would attempt to amend the constitution to insure a second term for himself and thereby perpetuate the unpopular pro-West policy. The small parliamentary Opposition was joined by four former Premiers and the Maronite Patriarch, the Moslem Mufti and the Druse Sheikh.

"At the present time, more than 70% of the people support the Opposition which controls most of the cities and the greater part of the countryside. This is a genuine people's revolution against a regime that has been dragging Lebanon away from the path of neutrality and friendliness to all countries."

DEMAND RESIGNATION: The Chamoun government has lost control over the people to such a degree that, even while fighting goes on, Opposition leaders have no difficulty in moving about and keeping in contact with the foreign press. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Sam Pope Brewer reported that former Premier Saeb Salaam lives in his house in Beirut, guarded by "a miniature private army, receives the foreign press when he wishes and talks to them on the telephone."

Popular pressure has already forced Chamoun to spread the word around that he would forego attempts at a second term. But the Opposition now demands his resignation even before his present term expires in September. Parliament has been summoned at the earliest possible time to elect a successor to Chamoun.

Last week it became apparent that, as the Paris **Le Monde** said, "the spectacular demonstrations of American diplomacy, with the deployment of the Sixth Fleet and the airlifting of arms and material . . . have certainly contributed a great deal to the deterioration of the situation" in Lebanon. **Le Monde** added that if the West wishes to "save the last non-Islamic island in the Arab East, it should not hope for a pro-Western Lebanon, much less an anti-Arab one," but let it remain "simply Lebanese."

INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE

Roberts' total near 400,000 in California

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

PERHAPS THE MOST significant of all surprises in the June 3 California primary election was the nearly 400,000 votes cast for Holland Roberts, independent candidate for State Supt. of Public Instruction.

On a statewide basis, with 23,377 out of 26,363 precincts in, Roberts was running a strong third in a field of four, with incumbent Roy Simpson leading and David Everett, endorsed by the right-wing Constitution Party, second. In his home county, Santa Clara, Roberts ran second.

One of the leading progressive educators in California, Roberts was for many years on the faculty of Stanford U. More recently he served as director of the California Labor School. His campaign for better schools, attracted a remarkable coalition of liberals, minority groups, youth organizations, trade unionists and parents.

LABOR ENDORSEMENTS: Official endorsements were given by the Northern Calif. District Council and several locals of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Local 1412, United Electrical Workers; two of the leading Negro newspapers, the Los Angeles **Tribune** and **Herald-Dispatch**, and the Mark Twain Youth Club.

During the campaign Roberts covered many parts of the state. He responded to the big business anti-recession nostrum, "Buy Something Now," with the demand that the state "Buy a Space Age School System." Newspaper ads, sound trucks, radio and TV programs, spot announcements in five languages, week-end mobilizations and a "Hoot for Holland" were features of the spirited contest.

Commenting on the results, Roberts said: "The primaries are over but the children are still with us. Major struggles around the right to education are in the making. There is a feeling in the air that the people are on the march."

REMEMBER
Guardian Weekend
Chaits
June 27, 28, 29

THE $100,000 REPORT OF MORRIS ERNST

Trujillo whitewashed—de Galindez smeared

GENERALISSIMO Rafael Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic, has been charged with exercising "the right of extra-territorial execution," as Puerto Rico's Gov. Luis Munoz Marin put it. In New York's tenement hallways, in Miami, in Mexico City Dominican exiles who opposed Trujillo have turned up dead.

Dominican officials in New York, London and elsewhere have been charged with making threats and sometimes with open assault. Trujillo's overseas agents apparently worked without much trouble until March 12, 1956, when Dr. Jesus de Galindez finished his lecture at Columbia U. in New York, rode down to Columbus Circle with one of his students, entered the subway—and was never heard from again.

De Galindez, an ardent Basque nationalist, fought with the Loyalists in Spain; then, after Franco's victory, took up an offer of asylum from the Dominican Republic. After falling from Trujillo's grace, he fled to New York and lectured against Trujillo and Franco and became the official representative of the Basque government-in-exile. After his disappearance police found a note indicating that in case anything happened to him he had reason to believe that his assailants could be Trujillo's agents.

MURPHY'S DEATH: The case might have been forgotten if it were not for the news that an American co-pilot, Gerald Lester Murphy, 23, had died under mysterious circumstances in the Dominican Republic on Dec. 3, 1956. Dominican authorities said that a pilot named Antonio De La Maza, a man frequently entrusted with foreign missions for Trujillo, had pushed Murphy into the shark-infested waters of the Caribbean, explained it all in a note and then hanged himself in a prison cell.

Life magazine then pieced together a well-documented story tending to show that Murphy had a plane, with extra fuel tanks, waiting at an airport in New Jersey on the the night of March 12; that he took off with an unconscious or lifeless body aboard and flew to Florida and later to the Dominican Republic.

Sen. Morse and Rep. Porter (both D-Ore.) took up the cudgels for their fellow Oregonian Murphy and by indirection for de Galindez. The State Dept., after an investigation, said De La Maza's suicide note was probably a forgery and definitely linked Murphy's death to de Galindez' disappearance. Meanwhile a Dominican agent, John J. Frank, tried and convicted for failing to register as such, was connected with the chartering of Murphy's plane.

TRUJILLO'S LAWYERS: It was clear that Rafael Trujillo, anxious for U.S. good will and desperately yearning for a place in history as El Benefactor, urgently needed counsel. In the past Trujillo has preferred to hire liberals.

He once hired Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. as his counsel, a job which paid well but blighted Roosevelt's political career thereafter. In the de Galindez case, the dictator hired a lawyer with a long civil liberties reputation, Morris L. Ernst.

Working through the public relations firm of Sydney S. Baron and Co., Trujillo proposed that Ernst undertake an "impartial" investigation for which Trujillo would put up $100,000—$50,000 in fees, $50,000 in expenses. Ernst, apparently convinced that $100,000 would not seriously impair his impartiality, took the job, taking on as his co-counsel former N.Y. Supreme Court Justice William H. Munson.

THE WHITEWASH: Last week he turned in a 95-page report with 53 exhibits and went off on an ocean cruise. The report, distributed by Sydney Baron and Co. as agents for the Dominican Government, is dressed up in legal format so that it resembles in appearance a Supreme Court decision.

It completely exonerates Trujillo, not only from any connection with the de Galindez disappearance, but from other crimes as well. It assails the reputation of de Galindez as regards his financial dealings and his social life, and suggests political motives or worse for Trujillo's accusers. It concludes that the entire incident of Murphy's waiting plane was a "coincidence."

JESUS DE GALINDEZ
Still haunts Trujillo

Ernst gives full credence to testimony by Dominican officials but casts doubt on anti-Trujillo evidence, in one case on the basis of "confidential" information.

Ernst makes no mention of the State Dept. findings or of past murders which some have laid at Trujillo's door. He ridicules U.S. press reports linking Trujillo to the disappearance but uses the press of other countries to bolster his story that de Galindez may be alive and passing for dead to suit some secret purpose.

He uses an affidavit from an unnamed lady in an unnamed reformatory who says that she saw de Galindez alive long after his alleged disappearance. He also relies on testimony by Cuban officials although dictators Batista and Trujillo currently enjoy the friendliest relations, even to sharing their U.S.-made weapons.

COURT-ROOM TACTICS: On at least 15 occasions the report refers to the fact that the N.Y. Police Dept. still carries the case in its "missing persons" file, though the police make it a rule to so list all cases until the body is actually discovered. Ernst nevertheless uses the routine police listing as if he were trying to sway a jury.

Similarly recalling professional courtroom tactics, Ernst uses telling adjectives to describe the principals in the case. Murphy is several times called "pathetic." The alleged kidnaping of de Galindez, in this allegedly objective report, is called "incredibly involved" at the outset.

De Galindez is described as a "notoriously cheap diner and low tipper," but also as a squanderer in night clubs. Ernst says there is no evidence to show that de Galindez was a communist, then adds that de Galindez once "felt it necessary to write in defensive tones to a lady friend to assure her that he was not a communist." He describes him as a scholar and liberal of high ideals but suggests that with all such men there is "the possibility that beneath the facade which they show the world there lurks a secret and very private self which seeks strange bedfellows, often with unusual and disastrous consequences."

Two paragraphs later Ernst says that "scores of letters reveal a strong and passionate interest in women" although any judge would sustain an objection on the grounds of irrelevancy. Ernst offers neither the letters nor any other evidence to show that de Galindez vanished as the result of a love affair.

EL BENEFACTOR: In examining de Galindez' thesis on Trujillo, which has been published in Chile, Ernst argues with it. He says that de Galindez assails the marital shenanigans of the Trujillo family, a subject he indicates is in bad taste for a writer. Ernst finds that the work "attacks the wealth of the people dominant in government without reference to rather analagous practices in other Latin American countries." He adds: "It rehearses the allegations, often printed, of political murders, but as far as we can tell it adds no bit of evidence to this **as yet unproven** accusation."

When he paraphrases de Galindez' favorable comments on Trujillo, Ernst adds no qualifying phrases and lets the catalogue run in full: Trujillo has imposed peace and security, abolished major crimes, made the streets safe, abolished the national debt, created new industries, schools, hospitals, "improved the cultural tone of the country by encouraging the non-controversial arts."

If Ernst had then concluded with: "The defense rests," few would have criticized him too harshly for earning his fee with a full brief. But Ernst's pretense of an impartial arbiter was too much for those who at any time had respected his civil liberties stand.

THE DISSENT: Albert C. Hicks, the first investigator hired by Ernst, disassociated himself from its findings. He said: "The report may prove to have some value for it introduces into the world a Magna Carta for tyrants giving them the right not only to murder on their own soil, but in foreign countries as well—in particular on Manhattan Island . . . The document commits crimes of omission, commission and submission."

Hicks is the author of "Blood In The Streets," an expose of Trujillo which Ernst says is characterized by a "high emotional content." The report also came under fire from Manuel Guerreiro, former assistant district attorney in charge of the de Galindez case; from Norman Thomas and Frances R. Grant of the Inter-American Assn. for Democracy and Freedom. **Life** magazine called it a "costly whitewash."

Rep. Porter said: "It was an exercise in sycophancy I never expected."

STOPPED AFTER TWO MORE TRIES

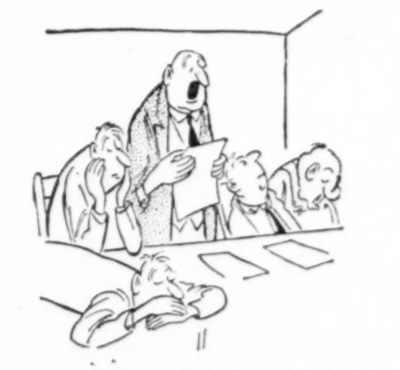
Crew of the Golden Rule jailed in Hawaii

EVER since the Golden Rule put into Honolulu for supplies late last April the Federal government has been trying to keep it bottled up in a yacht basin and its pacifist crew immobilized but out of jail. The Golden Rule was on its way to the Eniwetok proving grounds where the U.S. is currently conducting its nuclear tests. The 40-foot ketch had become the symbol of pacifist resistance to testing and the government feared that jailed pacifists would be more effective than free ones in stirring popular protest.

When skipper Albert S. Bigelow and his three companions made their first effort to sail from Honolulu despite a Federal injunction they were brought back, given 60-day suspended sentences and put on a year's probation. On June 1 Bigelow wrote to President Eisenhower that the Golden Rule would sail again on June 4.

PLEA TO HIGH COURT: Right on schedule the crew, with one replacement—James Peck for William Huntington—prepared to cast off. A deputy U.S. marshall was on hand with a warrant of arrest—but only for skipper Bigelow. It had been expected that all four would be arrested and Huntington was standing by to head another crew.

Within a few hours of the first effort Huntington and the remaining crew members tried again. This time they got six miles out of Hawaii, well beyond the jurisdictional waters of the U.S., but were overtaken by Coast Guard cutters and brought back. The crew of Bigelow, Huntington, Orion Sherwood and George Willoughby were given 60-day sentences and sent immediately to Honolulu's century-old city jail. Peck, charged with only one attempt to defy the injunction, was put on a year's probation.



" . . . Which brings us to social security . . . I hear you asking yourselves 'what happens to my old age income in the event of atomic warfare' . . . "

Meanwhile A. L. Wirin, attorney for the Golden Rule crew, asked Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to stay the original injunction. He said the order of the Atomic Energy Commission barring all unauthorized Americans from the 390,000-square-mile test area was invalid because the AEC had no jurisditcion over the high seas. Wirin also argued that the Federal injunction violated freedoms of religion and speech.

PRESBYTERIANS ACT: A resolution against nuclear tests was narrowly defeated last week— 516 to 480—in the Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., meeting in Pittsburgh. The new organization, resulting from a recent merger of other Presbyterian organizations, represents over 9,000 churches with a membership of 3,000,000. The Assembly voted instead to call for an end to the armaments race as a whole and for cooperative development of nuclear power for peaceful uses. Earlier the Assembly had called for "co-existence with Communist nations," denounced the "myth of the free world," and warned:

"We Americans are in danger of rejecting the heritage which made us what we are. With penitence let us confess that as a people we are becoming less interested in righteousness than in national security and international superiority."

Hiss challenge

IN A THREE-WAY debate on the Alger Hiss case in the May 31 **Saturday Review**, Prof. Fred Rodell of Yale University Law School wrote the following:

"I accuse the participating U.S. Government officials of knowingly helping to convict Alger Hiss largely on false, trumped-up, and deliberately distorted evidence—and of knowingly blocking subsequent defense efforts to prove in court that the evidence was false.

"If this be treason, Messrs. Nixon, Hoover **et al**, no statute of limitations has run out against me. Make the most of it."

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ALABAMA ELECTS 'THE GREATER EVIL'

Segregationists build a wall of hate in Montgomery

By Louis E. Burnham

THE CAB was passing by the state capitol in Montgomery when our conversation, casual until then, shifted to the question all Negroes—distinguished and unknown, rich and poor, scholars and illiterates—have in common.

"How have the white people been behaving lately?" I asked.

The driver was almost vehement.

"They hate us! You should have heard that Patterson talk the other night. He was right out here on the capitol mall; had a pretty good crowd, too. I drove by just when he was talking about us. He said, 'You got to keep them in their place or they'll be on top,' and a lot of stuff like that. Oh, yes, they hate us."

I wondered out loud whether the Pattersons could really turn back the clock, whether white Southerners didn't have to get used to the idea and the practice of equality.

The cab driver shook his head: "Well I don't know. I just don't know."

I THOUGHT ABOUT HIM when the returns came in on the June 3 runoff primary election in Alabama. "That Patterson"—Atty. Gen. John Patterson—had won the Democratic nomination and the governorship by a record vote. States righters had won 37, and probably 39, of 72 seats on the powerful Democratic state executive committee, practically assuring a Dixiecrat deviation from the Democratic nominee in the 1960 elections.

Patterson's nomination puts Alabama's official stamp of approval on the aggressive resistance to integration which has been sparked by the White Citizens Councils ever since the Supreme Court 1954 decision. It means that Negroes can have little hope of any relaxation of the state dogma of white supremacy during the next four years.

Surrounded by mounting hostility in their struggles for equal rights, Negroes in Montgomery are learning new lessons of unity.

ANOTHER CAB DRIVER—this time an unshaven youngster—voiced one of the lessons. We had stopped before a little frame house in one of the poorer sections of town to pick up another passenger, an elderly lady. She asked the driver to wait a minute and turned to hand some money to a white man who was standing on her porch.

The driver grumbled: "She ought to let him mark the book next week when he comes."

When the lady finally entered the cab he said, politely but firmly: "I don't let them write me no insurance."

"You don't belong to nary insurance, son?" asked the lady.

"Yes, mam, I have some insurance. I don't have it with **them**, though. I say if they won't give me my rights I won't give them my money."

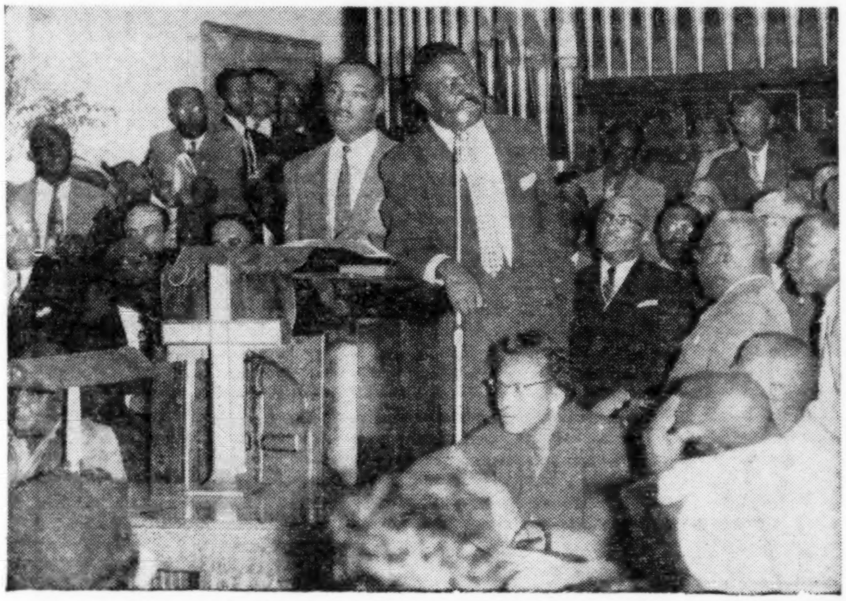
The economic boycott—the refusal to spend money to support jimcrow—which was the key to victory in the successful bus protest, is not being carried forward in any organized way in Montgomery today. But there is a strong residue of sentiment among Negroes for "building up our own institutions" instead of "trading with the enemy."

THE MASS MEETINGS which have been held each Monday night since the protest began two-and-a-half years ago remain the most convincing evidence that the determination of Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes to topple jimcrow barriers has not slackened. But, as one writer pointed out, the mass meetings are the soul of the movement; the Montgomery Improvement Assn. is its brains.

A visit to the MIA office revealed a small staff of full time and volunteer workers busily engaged in a campaign to increase voter registration.

We wondered again what kept the people's spirit so high and the office secretary was quick to answer.

"It's high," she said, "because there's still so much injustice here. The police just do anything they want and there's nothing done about it. They handcuff Negroes and take them to jail for simple traffic violations. One man was handcuffed, put in a patrol car and cursed all the way to jail—for making a wrong left-turn."



WEEKLY MASS MEETINGS—THE "SOUL" OF THE MONTGOMERY MOVEMENT
Leaders seek to convert enthusiasm into campaigns for voting rights

Negroes are harassed and arrested for jaywalking violations that formerly went unnoticed. The police have found ordinances which were deadletters and use them to take out their spite on Negro citizens.

RUFUS LEWIS, an ex-football coach who heads up the voter registration campaign for the MIA, felt that the solution to this problem lay in increasing the Negro vote. In Alabama, that is not an easy thing to do.

During the most recent registration period hundreds of Negroes applied to their local three-member boards in Montgomery County; but only one out of ten qualified, said Lewis. The applicants were at the mercy of the boards' wide discretionary powers, and few registrars in Alabama consider it politically discreet to register Negroes in large numbers.

The result was that during the campaign the number of Negroes registered in Montgomery remained at something under 2,500, where it has been now for several years.

Despite the difficulties, Lewis and other workers worked hard and long to get Negroes down to the registration office. Automobiles were available to carry applicants to the county building downtown and back home. Every night small groups met in homes and in churches to hold registration "clinics."

SAMPLE REGISTRATION blanks were distributed at the clinics and applicants were coached on how to answer the questions. This is no simple matter. In addition to his affirming his belief "in free elections and rule by the majority," the applicant must swear he will not "give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama."

This might be regarded as a warranted exercise of the state's prerogative. The next question, however, requires the applicant to "name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship." It is here that the discretion of the registrars, against which there is no legal appeal, results in the disqualification of most Negroes who apply.

Some Negro applicants were making their eighth or ninth attempt to register during the recent registration period. There was certainly no lack of will on their part. But the MIA has not yet found the way to break through the bottleneck at the registration office.

Since the organization has declared that its major goal is to double the Negro vote by 1960, and since this same objective has been adopted by the principal civil rights organizations throughout the South, success or failure on this front will largely determine the immediate future of the Negro's struggle for equality.

The issue, however, is not in the hands of Negroes alone. Success of the movement for voting rights depends on Federal protection of the Negro vote and on some measure of active support from the poor whites of the South. Neither of these is now forthcoming and as a result the nation's democracy is imperiled.

THE PM GOES TO WASHINGTON—LEAVING A MESS AT HOME

Britons ask: What's Mac going to give away now?

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

PRIME MINISTER Macmillan flew to Washington last week not only "at the nadir of the Western alliance's fortunes—everywhere on the defensive" (London **Observer**), but with businessmen's lamentations and trade unionists' protests ringing in his ears. With an "accelerating fall in the rate of new orders" (textiles, steel, engineering, coal, chemicals, etc.) and exports seriously hit by the world trade decline, the **Financial Times** saw dark prospects for Britain's economy this year.

Trade union leaders looked at still-growing unemployment figures and angrily denounced the government for making strikes inevitable by restricting industrial expansion and attacking the workers' living standards. Progressives with long hard memories, recalling the catalogue of give-aways on previous Prime Ministerial visits to Washington, wondered what would be cooking there now that the U.S. is seeking ways to export its own economic crisis.

LEADERS FALTER: London's bus strike went into its sixth week, backed by rank-and-file labor but with the weakness in the Trades Union Congress leadership increasingly apparent. The government's strategy of trying to isolate strike leader Frank Cousins of the Transport & General Workers from other TUC leaders was having some success.

After London transport boss Sir John Elliot infuriated trade unionists by his arrogant attitude toward Cousins, the TUC Council majority let Cousins down by "advising" no extension of the strike even to other sections of the T&GWU. In a previous statement the TUC Council had supported the strike and recognized that its outcome would affect all other unions. Yet it has become obvious that a bus strike by itself is no more than a serious inconvenience, and cannot be won at least while London's subways continue to operate.

Subway workers—mostly members of the Natl. Union of Railwaymen, which was granted a token raise after the bus strike began—are aware of this and issued an "unofficial" call to strike on June 9 and succeeding Mondays. On the first Monday 230 guards and motormen failed to show up for work, cutting service on the already heavily overcrowded trains. Rush-hour traffic was especially hard hit.

PLENTY OF SUPPORT: Annual conferences of other unions passed resolutions recognizing the involvement of all labor in the attack on the busmen, and pressing their own claims. The Woodworkers condemned the TUC decision that the strike should not be extended. The Boilermakers voted $2,800 a week to aid the busmen's "magnificent fight."

Scottish Natl. Union of Mineworkers leader Abe Moffat said the whole movement had a responsibility to ensure the busmen's victory. The mood of the miners, many describing themselves as "pauperized" by loss of overtime, was indicated by the Yorkshire NUM president's statement that delegates to a regional council had "never been so angry since the troubles of 1926" (year of the General Strike).

From the conference of the General & Municipal Workers, a giant union (second to the T&GWU) which has remained under right-wing leadership, came ominous rumblings in a resolution warning of the danger from the government's recent tactics to the whole collective bargaining system.

THE KEY ISSUE: On the surface the bus strike had made no headway, but it was far from the "flop" which transport boss Elliot disdainfully called it to Cousins. It was broadening day by day the awareness throughout organized labor that this was in fact a declaration of war on the movement to drive down living standards. Cousins' offers of the most substantial concessions to end the strike were being contemptuously rejected.

The **Daily Mirror**, considering the tiny amount of money at issue on May 6 (actually $8,400 a week; the strike costs London Transport 100 times as much), called continuation of the strike due to government obstinacy "a scandal." The raise offered to 34,000 of the busmen—the other 14,000 were offered nothing, hence the strike—was $1.19. Yet the busmen point out that even a $3.50 raise all around would still leave them "far behind the increase in the cost of living."

UP TO SUBWAY MEN: When TUC leaders visited Macmillan on May 30, all he had to say to them was that he "could not coerce" the London Transport Executive. After busmen's delegates unanimously refused to return to work without a settlement "more nearly approaching justice," Macmillan repelled a proposal for a further meeting. The Prime Minister was preoccupied with preparations for his call at the White House.

As of this writing, the strike continues solid. Londoners are "getting by" in the jammed, lengthened subway trains. Whether the whole British labor movement is to find itself seriously weakened, when the strike finally ends, is now largely in the hands of the subway workers.

IMPRESSIONS OF ISRAEL—II

Changes seen in rural collectives

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

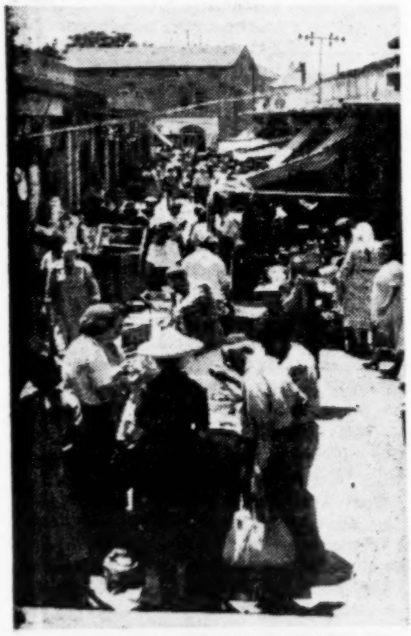
(Second of two articles)

In her first article, Anne Bauer gave her day-by-day personal impressions of the first half of a one-week official tour of Israel, concluding with a one-hour visit with Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion in which he expressed a hope for a future without war. She continues her day-by-day account:

MONDAY. Jerusalem sightseeing. Most of the Christian shrines and sites are on the Jordanian side of town. Most of those on the Israeli side, rebuilt or rearranged of recent date, to a non-believer fall terribly short of the grandeur imagined.

On the western outskirts of Jerusalem, the most beautiful monument to the Present—the new Hebrew University—is being constructed with record speed. The new campus will replace the original 1925 Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, still visible from Israeli Jerusalem but since 1948 an enclave in Jordan territory, hence accessible only by convoy. Of the 30-odd new campus buildings—financed two-thirds by private Jewish donations from the U.S., Britain, Canada, South Africa and other countries—more than 20 are now completed, sober and beautiful in the midst of outlined parks and traced campus gardens. Students are up from 970 in 1947-48 to about 4,000 now. The Hebrew University puts many larger countries to shame when it comes to building for education.

Jerusalem, like all Israel, is a place of contrasts. A few miles away from the streamlined new University, Jerusalem's Old Market is peopled by old and young Jews in Kaftan and orthodox beard. It is in Jerusalem that the orthodox groups wield the strongest political influence.



JERUSALEM'S OLD MARKET
The contrasts are sharp

One of these groups, it seems, is even opposed to Israel as a state, because it is said in the Scriptures that the coming of the Messiah would precede the creation of a Jewish state.

Jerusalem's Old Market also provided the only beggars seen in Israel in a week's time.

TUESDAY. By bus to Galilee. Galilee is where all Biblical tales come true. Below its range of foothills, Lake Tiberias (beneath sea level again) basks in an extraordinary quality of silence, and in a majesty and serenity the like of which probably exists nowhere else in the world.

THE NEW HEBREW UNIVERSITY AT JERUSALEM
'The most beautiful monument to the Present'

Kibbutz Degania, on Lake Tiberias, one of Israel's earliest, is also the only kibbutz we visit during our stay. It is a prosperous kibbutz that has its storms—and the trying war years—behind it. Its age and fortunes are told in its buildings. Next to 30-year-old houses (30 years is very decrepit for a house in Israel) are attractive new ones, many of them for the 140 Degania children's play, school and recreation.

GUARDIAN readers know what a kibbutz is, and how it is run. (See issues of March 10 and 17.) They also know that there can be considerable differences between one kibbutz and the next, not only according to wealth and age, but also in their degree of collectivization (in the raising of the children, the amount of privacy granted adults, etc.) and other internal organization, in tune with the political affiliations and beliefs of each kibbutz.

Before coming to Degania, someone has described to us the different forms of rural settlement. Besides the kibbutz, there is the small farmers' village (moshav ovdim) where life and work are private and the only collective features are mutual aid in emergency, common purchase of stock and common sale of produce. There also is the cooperative village (moshav-ovdim-shitufi), halfway between the collective kibbutz and the private moshav, where the families live apart but work the soil in common.

Without or within the kibbutzim, then, the prospective rural settler can make his choice.

DIFFERENT SPIRIT: But it sometimes happens that people enrolled in a kibbutz, for a variety of reasons, decide to leave. What happens then? One basic kibbutz principle is: you enter it with empty hands, your contribution to the community being your work; if you decide to leave, you go away as empty-handed as you came.

"This is a real hardship, and we have lately come to ease it a little, and give the people something to get a new start on elsewhere," one Degania man explains. He is a long-time member (1935) and has both his parents and children living there now. At the end of a long conversation he compares old and new kibbutz times a little wearily.

"It's not the same spirit in the kibbutz anymore . . ."

This is not just battle-of-generations crankiness. A few days earlier, I heard a young University woman speak similarly.

"There is a decline in the spirit of the kibbutzim. I regret it very much—maybe the time for them has passed. Who knows?"

The kibbutzim today continue to be Israel's backbone, that which makes the young state sounder, better and stronger than it would otherwise be. The men and women in the kibbutzim continue to be the country's elite and the country's hope.

THE CHANGE: But the statistics are eloquent on how the less collectivized forms of rural settlement, and particularly the small farmers' villages, the moshavei ovdim, which are not very different from the traditional individual villages, have lately caught up with, and outgrown the kibbutzim.

Between 1948 and the end of 1956, the moshavei ovdim have more than tripled in population; the kibbutzim have grown by not quite one half. In absolute figures, in the same span of years, the moshavei ovdim have passed from populations of 30,000 to 101,000, the kibbutzim from 54,000 to 79,000. In percentages, the kibbutzim have fallen from about 6% of the total population, back in 1948, to about 4% today.

Is this merely a temporary trend, due to the particular character of recent immigrants, a great number of whom came from underdeveloped and under-educated African and Asian countries? Or is the young woman right when she fears that the collectivist, socialist form of settlement no longer corresponds to the same need, nor above all to the prevailing state of mind?

The future will tell. It will also tell whether and with what results Socialist and Capitalist forms of enterprise can coexist within the same state.

WEDNESDAY. Quick glimpse of Haifa the beautiful—splendid parks and modern apartment houses climbing in terraces above the sea, opening up upon the port and the bay below.

Quick visit to Haifa's Technion—with the Weizmann Institute, Israel's most important engineering and science school, where 2,000 students are being taught by, among others, two U.S. physicists driven from America by McCarthyism.

Back to Tel Aviv via northernmost Lake Hula, lately in the news again because of new Syrian-Israeli border trouble over completion of Israel's Hula drainage project.

At Lake Hula starts and ends the lifeline of Israel's irrigation master plan, the Jordan-Negev Project.

Israel's water problem is in a few figures. About 50% of the country is desert land. Altogether 5,000,000 dunam (4 dunam equal one acre) of Israel soil can be made arable through irrigation. One million are irrigated now. Existing water supplies inside Israel can irrigate another 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 dunam. Considering that it takes about 1 dunam to feed one person, this sets the maximum population Israel will be able to feed from her own ground at slightly above 2,000,000 inhabitants. (The present population is almost that).

Water for irrigation beyond that limit can only be obtained through technical progress (desalting of sea water); or through international agreements under which Israel would be authorized to use some neighboring country's water—Lebanon's Litani River, for example—for that purpose.

THURSDAY. Short visit to one of Israel's most powerful institutions: the Histadrut, the Israeli trade union.

The Histadrut encompasses all trades from liberal profession to unskilled worker. It comprises 55% of the population, 80% of the workers, 75% of agriculture, 18% of finance—altogether one-third of the country's economy. It runs its own welfare institutions, hospitals, rest homes, workers' sick fund. It has lately become a factory-owner, having bought up a number of financially weak industrial enterprises. ("Private Histadrut property is not an aim, but it is sometimes necessary where private economy cannot maintain itself.") It sometimes finds itself in a position where it backs up the government against workers' demands for wage raises, and declares their strikes illegal. It is a union in a new and sometimes ambiguous position in this capitalist state where some of the games are played with socialist cards.

SUMMING UP: The last few hours in Israel are spent at WIZO, the Women's International Zionist Organization, where women give their time and work to help the newcomer, the unsettled, the jobless and the lost; and at the Weizmann Institute, where 160 scientists and researchers pursue their studies in an atmosphere of academic calm and quiet comfort. The country's humblest and the country's highest undertaking, both vital to it. At both places, a few simple remarks are a program by themselves.

At WIZO, a woman explains the organization's activities which range from finding jobs or vocational training to teaching rudiments of the language, cooking, child care.

"When a woman comes here, we don't ask her her race or her religion. We know that she needs us. We only ask how we can help her. That's all we want to know."

At the Weizman Institute, the public relations officer, a young woman of Swiss origin, starts her explanations with this statement:

"Science is our only natural resource . . ."

Two remarks that sum up the country in their own way.

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FIVE YEARS AGO THE ROSENBERGS WERE EXECUTED

Fight goes on in Sobell's 8th year in prison

(Continued from Page 1)

Questioned in the FBI roundup of many of Rosenberg's college mates in the summer of 1950, Elitcher—facing jail for perjury for falsely denying Communist Party membership to the Navy Dept.—produced in court a story involving Sobell with Rosenberg in a series of conversations allegedly occurring four years apart, from 1944-48, which Elitcher said had to do with "this espionage purpose."

Testifying to one of the supposed conversations, he introduced the name of Elizabeth Bentley, the now-discredited "Spy Queen." This enabled the prosecution to bring her to the stand as an "expert" on Communism, espionage, etc., assuring convictions of the Rosenbergs and Sobell although she had never seen any of them, nor they her.

IN CHARGING THE JURY, Judge Kaufman said that if they did not believe Elitcher with respect to Sobell, there was no case against him. But at the height of the Korean War hysteria there was little chance that a Federal jury would refuse to convict anyone the government chose to indict on such charges as those lodged against the Rosenbergs and Sobell.

Readers who have never studied the Rosenberg-Sobell trial record can now obtain for $6 copies of a third printing of the full transcript from the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 10. The following excerpts and analysis of some of Elitcher's contradictory and vague testimony, later declared unbelievable in a dissent by Appeals Court Judge Jerome Frank against turning down Sobell's first appeal, are condensed from a new book in preparation by William A. Reuben, analyzing the almost-wholly repressive applications of the Espionage Act since its enactment in 1917. The Rosenberg-Sobell case was one of the very few in which actual spy charges were prosecuted under the Act. Elitcher, the prosecution's catspaw especially against Sobell, now lives comfortably in a select Westchester community. Sobell, his chum from boyhood to 1951, is now completing his eighth year in Federal prison as a result of testimony like that discussed herewith.

ON EARLY cross-examination, Elitcher admitted that ever since he had left government employment in 1948 he had almost continuously been "scared to death" that it would be discovered that, by having denied Communist Party membership, he had committed perjury by falsifying a government loyalty oath form.

MAX ELITCHER
The frightened perjurer

This is what the trial transcript shows as Elitcher was cross-examined on this point by defense attorney Emanuel Bloch:

Q. Now, when you were interrogated by the FBI for the first time . . . did that fear of prosecution persist in your mind?

A. Yes, I realized what the implications might be.

Q. You felt that the government had something over you, didn't you?

A. I couldn't tell; I thought, yes, perhaps . . .

Q. You understood, however, did you not, that that was a present danger at the time you were interrogated by these two FBI agents?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, tell us just what these FBI men told you the first time in July, 1950, about what they had on you, as to being a Communist or anything concerning an oath; just that general subject matter.

A. . . . They did say that they thought they had reliable information to the effect that I was a member of the Communist Party. **They also told me they had information to the effect that I had given material for purposes of espionage . . .**

YET ON cross-examination by Bloch, this came out:

Q. Did you pass any information, secret, classified, confidential or otherwise, of the Government of the United States, to the defendant Julius Rosenberg, at any time?

A. I did not.

In the examination of Elitcher by Sobell's attorney, Edward Kuntz, this colloquy took place:

Q. Did you hand any documents of the United States Government to Sobell?

A. No.

Q. Did you hand any United States documents to anybody in this world, belonging to the United States Government?

A. Not authorized. No.

Q. He [Sobell] never turned over any document to you?

A. No.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, at the core of Elitcher's testimony is his statement that, even though he never turned over documents or knew of anyone else's actually doing so, he was "part of it," meaning an espionage conspiracy involving Rosenberg and Sobell. But, in contrast to this testimony, all of the existing pre-trial records, the arrest warrant, three indictments, the bill of particulars, show that Elitcher was not a "part of it."

When Sobell was arrested, on the basis of the sworn allegations made on Aug. 3 by FBI Agent Rex I. Schroder, the sole charge (even though Elitcher had already given two lengthy statements to the FBI on July 20 and July 21) was that Sobell had conspired to commit espionage with Julius Rosenberg **"and others to deponent unknown."**

When Sobell was finally indicted on Oct. 10, almost two full months after his arrest (and even though Elitcher had testified before the Grand Jury on Aug. 14), it was charged that he had conspired to commit espionage with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, David and Ruth Greenglass, Harry Gold, Anatoli Yakovlev **"and with divers other persons presently to the Grand Jury unknown."** Elitcher was again not mentioned.

WHEN, THREE MONTHS later, at the end of January, 1951, (after Elitcher in the interim had signed a third statement for the FBI, dated Oct. 23), the government protestingly furnished Sobell with a bill of particulars, it was charged, in an affidavit sworn to under oath by the U.S. Attorney, that Sobell would be tried on the allegations made at the time of his arrest: namely, that he had conspired to commit espionage with Julius Rosenberg **"and others to deponent unkown."**

When the final indictment against Sobell was handed down on Jan. 31, 1951, included in which as overt act Number One was a visit that Julius Rosenberg allegedly made in June, 1944, to a residence at 247 Delaware Av., Washington, D.C., it was still charged (after Elitcher, on Jan. 31, had testified for the second time before the grand jury) that Sobell had conspired to commit espionage with all those named in the indictment of Oct. 10 **"and with divers other persons presently to the Grand Jury unknown."** (The Delaware Av. address was Elitcher's.)

If Elitcher at any time prior to the date of the final indictment, Jan. 31, 1951, had ever told anyone that he was "part of" an espionage conspiracy with Sobell and others, it is hardly conceivable that the government would have stated as late as Jan. 29, 1951, in a sworn bill of particulars that the case against Sobell would be based on five alleged conversations with Julius Rosenberg, with no mention of a conspiracy that Elitcher was "part of."

THESE CONVERSATIONS, significantly, were never even referred to at the trial which, instead, was made to turn entirely on Elitcher's unsupported testimony, apparently not restored to his recollections until after Jan. 31, 1951, despite two grand jury appearances and at least 13 different FBI interviews in the preceding six months or more.

When, at the trial, the Sobell defense demanded the right to inspect Elitcher's pre-trial statements to the FBI and the grand jury—a total of 292 pages of testimony—Judge Kaufman gave them an extra half-hour at the luncheon recess to do so. The attorneys asked for additional time but were refused.

MORTON SOBELL
Framed by a "friend"

As a result they were unable to examine the statements sufficiently to cross-examine on the basis of them, hence did not introduce them as evidence. However their examination of the July 20-21 FBI interviews—covering at least 13 hours of questioning—disclosed no mention of Sobell.

THE CLOSEST to an official explanation of Elitcher's obviously belated recollection that he was "part of it" was a statement by U.S. Atty. Irving Saypol at the time the Sobell counsel demanded the right to examine Elitcher's pre-trial statements. Conceding in advance that Elitcher's first statement did not mention either of the two central features of his trial testimony—"this incident where he met Rosenberg . . . [and] this Bentley incident"—Saypol asserted that "the lawyers' point of view is somewhat different from the investigators'."

For this reason, said Saypol, there would not only be a belated emergence of such incidents, but also the trial testimony would be different from a statement given an investigator in one other respect: much that is "irrelevant, immaterial or unnecessary is eliminated." As to the reasons for such adding and eliminating, Prosecutor Saypol provided this telling clue:

"Initially, nobody knows whether an individual is a prospective witness or a prospective defendant. The plan and course of an investigation is not something that is set in advance . . ."

THE EVIDENCE given by Max Elitcher sent Morton Sobell to Alcatraz. It is not the evidence he was arrested upon. It is not the evidence he was indicted on. It is not the evidence described in the bill of particulars, in a sworn affidavit, that was given to him by the government before the trial.

This one person who accused Sobell of any illegal activities was induced to give testimony after he himself had been threatened—falsely, according to the trial record—with prosecution for espionage.

And this story of Elitcher's that linked Sobell to the alleged spy network was admittedly a consequence of a "suggestion" from the FBI; and was first "remembered" months after Sobell had already been indicted; and was forthcoming in public testimony only after Elitcher himself, when his home address was listed in the second superseding indictment of Jan. 31, 1951, unmistakably must have been forced to choose between being, as the U.S. Attorney was pleased to phrase it, "a prospective witness or a prospective defendant."

* * *

ANNIVERSARY DAWN

Then I recall the sculptured monument
Shrine to the martyrs in a Paris street;
A reverent poem by a Turkish bard;
Their pictured likeness on a Chinese wall;
And hear these whispered words in myriad tongues:
"They did not die. Their courage was a rock
"On which to stand. They have but joined the ranks
"Of history's elite. Forever now
"Ethel and Julius Rosenberg will live."

—E. F., Detroit

BOOKS

Simone de Beauvoir on China

FOR A BOOK breaking through the blackout on rational reporting about China,* Americans have presumably to thank the fact that Simone de Beauvoir is the author of two "sexy" best-sellers and may write more. Thus her study of the greatest national renaissance of our or any previous time appears under a respectable American imprint.

Yet even before it falls under the critics' toy hatchets, her publishers' blurb reflects current U.S. hysterics with a "her views are her own" apologia for their author's "observation of Red China."

Quaintly perhaps, she calls it "China." For the visitor with a little common sense (she has a lot) there is no "mystery" about it except what Washington has created; nor is what one sees and hears there—despite the drawback of speaking through interpreters—a mirage from which no conclusions can be drawn. De Beauvoir found that nearly all the unfavorable facts, as poured into the Western press from Hong Kong propaganda mills, are taken or distorted from information freely available in Peking.

OBSERVING IN 1955 "the long march which is going to bring China into the company of great powers," she never forgot that all was changing and developing even as she looked at it. (She found "a few" rubber-tired wagons—now there are millions; no taxis in Peking—now there are plenty, and China produces its own cars; almost universal blue cotton dress—a "fashion" already passing; Yellow River flood-control still a blueprint—already it is far advanced).

Proper Washingtonians are appalled to find that, after their long and partially successful efforts to debauch French intellectuals, people like de Beauvoir (whose rare intellect and scholarship they cannot deny) are still around penetrating U.S. curtains.

Her contemptuous rebuttal of the "blue ant-hill" interpretation of China will surely delight all non-hysterical Americans. In fact, she reports, the human factor is crucial in China because the regime knows the best work comes from people with their hearts in it. The Chinese people are infinitelly varied, but are not interested in an outward show of "individualism" which merely conceals inner conformism.

IN ANY CASE, judging them by Western liberal standards is simply absurd. The only valid standard is an Asian one, and any traveler can see for himself that only the policy of planning for industrialization—which the U.S.S.R. will assist but the U.S. won't—will bring Asians liberation from "the agonizingly hopeless circle of an animal existence" which they have endured for centuries. China's industrialization is in Moscow's and Peking's common interest, although "insofar as cash goes" (a phrase omitted by **Time's** reviewer in quoting to indicate de Beauvoir's gullibility) "Russian assistance is disinterested."

SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR
No comparable book on China

Of course, as de Beauvoir points out, it is just because China's industrialization drive is succeeding that Western propagandists step up their attacks on its "human toll."

While she found Chinese workers and peasants still hard-worked and badly housed, they were clean and well fed and beginning to buy bicycles and radios; and she was convinced that with any slower industrializing pace "every last Chinese would be done for." The general appearance of contentment was in marked contrast with the West, and she noted on Peking holidays the people's "talent for happiness . . . content with sunshine and greenness, a little music, food and friendship."

IF THE CHILDREN—now "beheld as the salt of the earth"—easily and gladly swallowed the "indoctrination" about the new regime, it was hardly surprising in view of the appalling cruelties under the old system. Western liberals bemoan the break-up of China's old family system, but what has been destroyed is a patriarchal setup based on land ownership under which fathers had life-and-death powers over children and women were enslaved.

If Chinese women today are taking time to adopt a positive attitude toward freely-given love it is because the nightmare of the past cannot be shed overnight. But no one except Western romantics is unhappy about the disappearance of China's "local color" whose chief ingredients were opium dens, brothels, beggars and monstrous privilege.

De Beauvoir writes about "freedom" in China as one of those who remember what the basis of freedom is: freedom to eat is freedom to buy food, freedom to enjoy sunshine today exists only for those who are not "gnawed by anxiety about tomorrow." The Chinese do not yearn after that "purely destructive freedom to say No for the sake of saying No," to which Western liberals attach so much weight.

SHE IS CONVINCED that when the Chinese Communists insist on "no coercion, but patient explanation," they mean it. The prodigious literacy campaigns and the treatment of national minorities testify to the regime's desire for the people to understand, not follow blindly.

Exceptionally sophisticated politically and otherwise, de Beauvoir brings a decent humility to her appraisal of this vast human engineering project. What she most criticizes is an adherence she finds excessive to the complicated culture and civilization of old China, as symbolized especially in the calligraphy; she is impatient for the regime to concentrate still more on the revolutionary future, except insofar as China also has a tradition of simplicity.

Her long critical and historical essay on the culture of China old and new is a brilliantly provocative contribution. Explaining why the attempt to graft an American-style liberal philosophy upon China was hopeless from the start, she discusses present attitudes toward Confucius and Lao Tse, Lu Hsun ("Lu-sin") and the Lin Yutang school. She thinks some of the recent onslaughts on "bourgeois" writers and philosophers have been carried too far, but recalls that under the Manchus and Chiang writers were "jailed, exiled, shot, beheaded, buried alive."

She deplores the "edifying tracts" now appearing as literature—not because they respond to the regime's call for clarity, simplicity and "wholesomeness" but because they don't come off. Even measured by the record of Western culture, she cannot accept the notion that "to dictate themes to a writer is to condemn him automatically to mediocrity."

No comparable book on this subject is available to Americans, whose ignorance of it is a disgrace before the world. Every progressive should make it a duty to see that his local library circulates **The Long March.**

—**Cedric Belfrage**

**THE LONG MARCH, by Simone de Beauvoir. World Publishing Co., Cleveland & New York, 513 pp. $7.50.*

JOHN BROWN STILL MARCHES

Thirty-two fateful hours at Harper's Ferry

ALMOST 100 YEARS ago John Brown led a band of 22 men—17 whites and five Negroes—in a raid on the U.S. Arsenal and Armory at Harpers Ferry, Va. Six weeks later Captain Brown was the first of seven captured survivors to die on the gallows at Charleston,

They had been convicted of treason to the Commonwealth of Virginia, conspiring with slaves to commit treason, and murder. With their death the South tried to quiet its hysterical fears of slave insurrection. Many Northerners who hated slavery, even some who had aided Brown's venture, seemed confirmed in the belief that armed resistance was futile.

So the matter seemed to end.

BUT THE NATION would soon redeem John Brown's failure in the bloodiest of wars. From 1861 to 1865 other men would harvest slaves to freedom; few realized during the 32 hours of Oct. 16, 17, and 18, 1859, when the raiders fought at Harpers Ferry, that John Brown and his men were planting the seed.

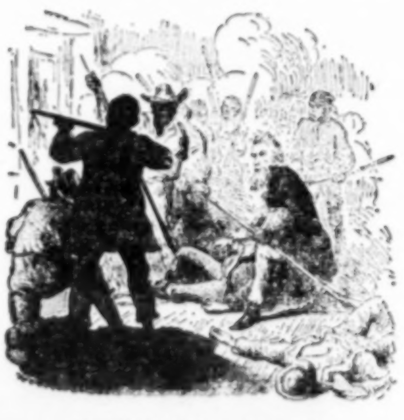
What happened during those 32 hours—the **Thunder at Harpers Ferry***—is recounted in a fascinating book by a New York journalist, Allan Keller.

John Brown had a plan. He had nursed it for ten years, tested it in discussions with Eastern abolitionists, dreamed of it in the West as he fought the Border Ruffians to preserve Kansas against slavery. One of his 13 children, Frederick, had been killed in Kansas and two other sons would die at the Ferry, but Brown believed that "the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood." And to him there was no more heinous crime against God and the nation than slavery.

THE ATTACK on the arsenal was not to be an end in itself. There, Brown intended to gather arms and move with his men to the hills of the Blue Ridge mountains. Then he would proceed from one mountain redoubt to another, gathering slaves as he went until the army of the Lord was strong enough to overcome any combination of citizens' militia and federal troops.

The men never reached their mountain retreat. Because of Brown's concern for the safety of the hostages he had taken, because, inexplicably, he failed to move in the early hours of the raid when Harper's Ferry was in his hand, a ring of steel was forged around the insurrectionists.

At the end the raiders—those who had not escaped or been killed—were taken by federal troops commanded by a lieutenant colonel destined to become the hero of secessionists, Robert E. Lee.



PRELUDE TO CIVIL WAR
John Brown defends the engine house

How the raiders, the citizens and the soldiers responded to the greatest adventure of their lives is told in vivid detail which is the strength of the book. Though the end is known, the suspense is sustained. It is a powerful story, simply and well told.

WHERE KELLER LEAVES the battlefield, the courtroom and the jailhouse, he submits himself to questions regarding his interpretation of Brown's motives, the soundness of his plan and, most particularly, his relationships with Negro abolitionists generally and the five who joined his band. Unfortunately missing from the author's bibliography is the 1909 biography, **John Brown**, by **W. E. B. DuBois.** In nothing written before or since are these questions so ably handled as in DuBois' book.

That should, however, deter no one from reading **Thunder at Harpers Ferry**, a new reminder to the nation of John Brown's prophetic words:

"You had better—all you people of the South—prepare yourselves for a settlement of this question. It must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it, and the sooner you commence that preparation, the better for you. You may dispose of me very easily—I am nearly disposed of now; but this question is still to be settled—this Negro question, I mean. The end of that is not yet."

—**Louis E. Burnham**

**THUNDER AT HARPER'S FERRY, by Allan Keller. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 282 pp. $4.95.*

Youth Festival next year

A STATEMENT to leading youth organizations urging support for a representative American delegation to the Seventh World Festival of Youth and Students to be held in Vienna July 26-August 4, 1959, has been issued by the United States Festival Committee.

Pointing out that this is the first time that the bi-annual event will be held in a Western country, the committee, whose address is 27 W. 84th St., New York 24, is seeking to stimulate increased participation by Americans.

The committee was initiated by interested young people who attended last year's Festival in Moscow,

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Dr. Pauling speaks in N. Y. June 17

NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING chemist Dr. Linus Pauling will be the featured speaker at a N.Y. rally June 17 to protest nuclear weapons tests. The Queens Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy expects 3,000 persons to attend the meeting at Sunnyside Gardens, 45 St. and Queens Blvd.

Other speakers will be Carey McWilliams, editor of the **Nation**, and Trevor Thomas, exec. secy. of the Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Thomas will report on progress of the organization, which now has affiliates in more than 100 cities.

Among sponsors of the national committee are Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dr. Algernon D. Black, Dr. Eric Fromm, Rev. Donald Harrington, Rabbi Isador B. Hoffman, N.Y. City Councilman Stanley Isaacs, Rabbi Edward E. Klein, Lewis Mumford and James Warburg.

De Gaulle's trip

(Continued from Page 1)

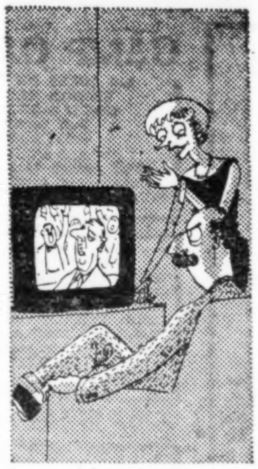
He said: "You have constructive things to do to help de Gaulle. Don't push him too hard. It would not be good for you to take political jobs."

Another report, however, said de Gaulle privately explained that he had to choose Cabinet members from various political parties to assure Assembly approval of his bid for power, that changes will be made after the dust settled. At the end of a luncheon he gave to the local leaders in Algiers, de Gaulle offered a single personal toast: "To Massu, to Delbecque."

FOR "INTEGRATION": Premier de Gaulle's peace offer to the Algerians harked back to the heyday of Western imperialism. He said that the 9,000,000 Moslems and 1,000,000 French settlers comprised "ten million French in Algeria," who would be totally "integrated" with the 45,000,000 Frenchmen in France and vote for a new French constitution on October 5. He insisted that Algeria was a part of France and implied that Paris would never agree to an independent Algerian Republic.

Nobody was satisfied as de Gaulle returned to Paris, leaving Algeria in charge of Gen. Raoul Salan. Some of the disappointed French settlers even made threats against the Premier. The Algerian Public Safety Committee was not disbanded. Moreover, Delbecque said that 320 clandestine public safety committees in France would soon go into action and that eventually a national committee for all France would be set up to "take care that professional trouble-makers shall not infiltrate and undermine the order [de Gaulle has] reestablished."

Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) leaders in Rabat, Tunis and Cairo viewed as nonsense de Gaulle's offer of full French citizenship to the Moslems.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Cheer up, darling—the situation's never so bad that a few well-chosen words from Mr. Dulles can't make it worse."

One of them said: "What the Algerians want is Algerian citizenship, not French." Integration with 45,000,000 Frenchmen in France, to these leaders, meant that the Algerians would remain a minority and Algeria would be governed merely as a French province.

NEW ATTACKS: FLN leaders accused de Gaulle of "closing the door to all possibilities of negotiated settlement based on the independence of Algeria." Twenty-four hours after the general had left for Paris, liberation forces attacked at a dozen different points in Algeria.

Moroccan political leaders were reported to be "unanimous in their lack of enthusiasm over the speeches of Gen. de Gaulle" and "showed no surprise" over FLN rejection of the Premier's offer. Equally unenthusiastic, Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba urged recognition **of Algerian independence and the withdrawal of all French troops from Tunisia and Morocco.**

It was, however, apparent that de Gaulle was counting on pro-West Bourguiba to exert his influence with the FLN in favor of a compromise settlement with France, as Anthony Nutting noted (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 6/5).

This could only be a settlement far short of independence. De Gaulle has always had a low opinion of the Arab's ability for self-government. In December, 1954, for example, he envisaged North Africa as part of "a combination embracing our metropolitan France and our Africa . . . where there is no direct other authority except the French."

NO BARGAINS: It has been hinted that de Gaulle planned later to offer some kind of autonomy to Algeria, enabling it to federate with Tunisia and Morocco and all three joining a French Union. Massu has gone further than this: he has actually proposed the reconquest of Tunisia and Morocco. Last December he told a correspondent of Rome's **La Stampa:** "To save Algeria, the unity of North Africa is indispensable. That is why we need Gen. de Gaulle. He is the only man who understands the situation and can manage it."

The kind of French Union de Gaulle has so far visualized would be unacceptable to both Bourguiba and the Moroccan Sultan, and the French settlers in Algeria. Bourguiba made clear to London **Observer** correspondent John Gale two weeks ago that "there could now be no question of a bargained diminution of Tunisian (or Moroccan) sovereignty in order to effect a federation with France."

The French settlers have been more outspoken. As their leader, Massu said when asked if the army would remain loyal in case de Gaulle favored some form of federation instead of integration for Algeria:

"If the earth begins to turn in the wrong direction, if the sputnik falls in our faces, I can't tell you what would happen . . . Gen. de Gaulle must favor integration because our movement has brought him to power and he has given it approval."

THE DIM FUTURE: So far, de Gaulle has failed in the supreme test of bringing peace to Algeria, without which France would be doomed to political and economic disaster. Continued warfare in Algeria would inevitably engulf the whole of North Africa, strengthen the power of men like Massu, Soustelle and Delbecque, and lead to a full-scale civil war in France.

Financially, France would face bankruptcy if the $2,000,000,000 yearly drain of the Algerian war continued to aggravate the economy already reeling from inflation, an annual price rise of 15% and foreign trade deficit of $1,600,000,000, and a daily $5,000,000 "flight of the franc" into West Germany.

The U.S. itself would face the dilemma of whether to support France or Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco: all three North African countries have announced their determination to take the whole issue to the UN General Assembly in the fall, if a peaceful solution is not reached earlier.

As the London **Economist** noted, "Gen. de Gaulle has maneuvered for power in the wrong way" to settle either the Algerian problem or his country's divisions. It said: "Even if the General were to act as the noblest Roman of them all, he would still have to take into account the demands of his motley backers: the settlers, the army colonels who want to reconquer Tunisia and Morocco, and the right-wing camp followers who claim political and administrative spoils in France itself." The **Economist** added: "More than the most arresting myth will be needed to bring them to heel."

East-West trade

(Continued from Page 1)

Eisenhower proposed business that could amount to several billion dollars in the next few years. The Soviet Union would buy a wide variety of U.S. machinery and some consumers' goods in return for Soviet potassium, manganese, chrome, platinum, lumber, paper products, salts, asbestos. First Washington reaction seemed favorable to the trade but not to the credits which, Khrushchev said, would facilitate business.

For some U.S. businessmen the blooming socialist economy meant not only a new market but a new rival in an old market. That fear was voiced in a report released June 1 by the Committee for Economic development.

NO IDLE BOAST: The Committee is a conservative research agency, supported by "contributions from business and industry." James A. Farley of Coca Cola, Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel and former Defense Secy. Charles Wilson serve as honorary trustees. The report was prepared by Michael Sapir, an economist for the UN Technical Assistance Administration in Latin America. Sapir ascribed these words to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1957:

"We declare war upon you—excuse me for using such an expression—in the peaceful field of trade. We declare war. We will win over the United States. The threat to the United States is not the ICBM, but in the field of peaceful production. We are relentless in this and it will prove the superiority of our system."

Sapir adds: "I think the record shows that Khrushchev's threat was no idle boast. The Soviet performance in the short span of five years has been impressive."

HUGE INCREASE: The report showed that trade of the socialist world with the non-socialist jumped 77% from 1952 to 1956. Three-fourths of that increase was accounted for by the renewal of former trade relations with Western Europe, where the cold-war boycott has melted. The rest has come from increased trade with under-developed countries. Socialist trade with Latin America, for example, soared 609% in those years. However, the starting point in 1952 was low so that even after the sharp rise, in 1956 only 2.7% of the non-socialist world trade was with the socialist bloc.

The over-all percentage reveals less than the country-by-country breakdown. For seven capitalist nations, trade with the socialist bloc accounted for over 10% of their total trade. More than 20% of total trade of Afghanistan, Iceland and Egypt is currently with the socialist countries; 17% of Turkey's, 16% of Burma's and 12% of Iran's.

The Soviet Union, alone, can devote $1,000,000,000 or more, the report estimated, to foreign credit. The terms and techniques of socialist trade, aid, loans and technical training vary considerably from the U.S. pattern. The report says the socialists "cater, with the same stroke, to both pride and poverty, by giving their assistance in the form of loans instead of grants, but charging low interest rates and offering to accept payment of goods instead of currency."

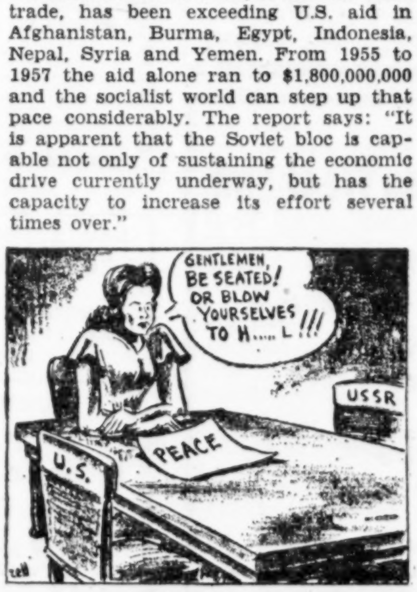
LENIENT TERMS: Where the Export-Import Bank and the World Bank charge 4½-5%, the Soviets charge only 2-2½%. Grace periods before payments begin are generous. For example, the Afghans will not begin to pay off their 1956 loan until 1964.

The materials offered by the socialist countries differ radically from capitalist exports. The socialists are offering to these countries, hitherto kept to an agrarian level, machinery, structural materials and whole manufacturing plants with technicians to train local staffs.

For the recipients of this socialist trade, aid and point-four treatment, it means a way out of a monopoly stranglehold. The CED report points out: "The communist presence in these nations give them an alternative for the first time to the long-standing choice between association with the West or decay. There has never been good reason to think many under-developed nations would not welcome an alternative to the West as a means and model for development. The prestige Russia has recently won in science and technology makes the choice all the more real."

TECHNICIANS EXCHANGED: In the first six months of 1957 more than 2,000 Soviet and Chinese technicians spent a month or longer working in 19 under-developed, non-socialist countries. In that same year over 2,000 technicians from the world of colonies or former colonies, went to socialist countries for special courses of study in industrial techniques.

Socialist economic aid, as distinct from trade, has been exceeding U.S. aid in Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Nepal, Syria and Yemen. From 1955 to 1957 the aid alone ran to $1,800,000,000 and the socialist world can step up that pace considerably. The report says: "It is apparent that the Soviet bloc is capable not only of sustaining the economic drive currently underway, but has the capacity to increase its effort several times over."


GENTLEMEN, BE SEATED! OR BLOW YOURSELVES TO H.... L!!!
USSR
PEACE
U.S.

United Mine Workers Journal

The report holds out certain slim consolations for the capitalist world. It says: "It would seem reasonable to expect that the longer the (socialist) bloc programs are in existence, and the wider their effects, the greater the likelihood that the Soviet and its satellites will stub their toes, making many of the errors we have made, and others of their own invention." It also cites the Soviet bureaucratic "red tape," the "clumsiness" of trade by bartering commodities, the reports that some Soviet shipments are deficient in quality or quantity, the appeal to under-developed countries of being able to "shop around in the Free World."

The report closes by warning: "The West should not rely on this . . ."

The **Wall Street Journal** declined to view the situation so grimly. It said the U.S. had no choice but to face up to the new competition, and added: ". . . certainly it is a more wholesome challenge than that of armament racing."

REMEMBER
Guardian Weekend
Chaits
June 27, 28, 29

Dr. Auslander die in New York at 6

DR. JACOB AUSLANDER, distinguished specialist in arthritis, lifelong crusader to spread the benefits of medical research and a leader of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, died last week in New York's Presbyterian Hospital.

Dr. Auslander was born and studied in Austria and came to the U.S. in 1923. He was active on the staff of Mt. Sinai Hospital for 18 years and chief of the arthritis clinic at Sydenham Hospital when he died. In keeping with his humanitarian and progressive outlook, he campaigned for medical insurance and broad social security. During and after the Spanish Civil War he participated in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to aid those who had fought against Franco.

In 1946 the House Committee on Un-American Activities made the Anti-Fascist Committee a major target and demanded that its leaders produce records which could reveal the names of anti-fascists aided by the committee. Dr. Auslander and the committee's other leaders refused. They were convicted of contempt and Dr. Auslander served three months in the Federal pirson at Danbury, Conn.

NEW YORK

WHAT ROAD OUT FOR FRANCE
DE GAULLISM or SOCIALISM?
—a debate
WILLIAM RUSHER publisher: **National Review**
TIM WOHLFORTH editor: Young Socialist
Moderator—Dr. SAUL K. PADOVER, New School for Social Research
Thursday, June 19, 8 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.
Hotel Great Northern, 118 W. 57th St.
Donation: $1, students 50c. Ausp. Young Socialist

Meet and Greet
WILLIAM HEIKKILA OF SAN FRANCISCO
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STANLEY NOWAK OF DETROIT
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Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg
"What is at Stake in the Present Attack on the U.S. Supreme Court"
and
Harvey O'Connor - Dr. Corliss Lamont
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SWP in Michigan names its candidates

THE MICHIGAN state committee of the Socialist Workers Party on June 2 nominated an auto worker and a clerical worker, both of Detroit, to head the Party ticket in the November general election.

Named to run for governor was Frank Lovell, a General Motors worker. Lovell said that he was asking GM to grant him a leave of absence in the fall so he can concentrate on his campaign. Mrs. Evelyn Sell, mother of two, was chosen to run for the U.S. Senate in her first bid for office.

The SWP platform will stress the fight for full employment, peace, civil rights and liberties.

De Gaulle debate in N.Y. June 19

"WHAT ROAD Out for France: De Gaullism or Socialism?" is the title of a debate to be held June 19, at 8 p.m. at the Hotel Great Northern, 118 W. 57 St., N.Y.C. Principals will be William Rusher, publisher of **National Review** and former associate counsel of the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, who will defend de Gaulle, and Tim Wohlforth, editor of **Young Socialist** and national committee member of American Forum—For Socialist Education. Dr. Saul K. Padover, professor of political science at the New School for Social Research, will be chairman.

The **National Review** was recently in the news when its editor was accused of influencing the grand jury which indicted Rep. Adam Clayton Powell on tax evasion charges.

Admission will be $1.00; students 50c.

CALENDAR

Chicago

ALL NATIONS JULY 4th PICNIC
Santa Fe Park, 91st & Wolf Rd., food and drink of all nations, games, dancing, entertainment. Sponsored by: Chicago Joint Defense Committee & Provisional Committee to Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley.

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Saturday, June 21 from 5 p.m.
Sunday, June 22, from 11 a.m.
On 330 So. Ford Blvd.—Adm. 75c.

BELLAMY CLUB meets Wed., June 25, 6:30-9 p.m., Clifton's Cafeteria, South sea Rm., 648 S. B'way. WORLD SHAKING DATA ON NEW INVENTION THAT MAKES ATOM BOMB OBSOLETE will be distributed. Delmore Huserik, Assoc. Exec. Sec'y Friends Comm. on Legislation, speaks on "Co-Existence or No Existence."

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Proceeds: The Religious Freedom Fund.

MARTIN HALL REVIEWS THE NEWS Thurs., June 19, 8:15 p.m., at 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl. (2 bl. West of Western, corner Pico). Don. $1. Special Topic: "YOU CAN STOP TESTS NOW!"

New York

MEET WILLIAM HEIKKILA
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Sunday, June 15, 8:30 p.m.
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Help celebrate end of the "school year" for Marxist classes & forums. Discuss perspectives for the Fall; meet your teachers; and—
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Watch for Next Week's Announcement of a Four-Week Summer Term Classes on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays only From the week of July 7 through the week of July 28 Subjects include: "Four Current Problems of Human Freedom"; "Four Communist Novelists"; "Four Great Soviet Films"; "Philosophy of History" & others. Teachers include: Herbert Aptheker, Dr. Annette Rubinstein, Harold Collins, oths. Fees: $3 per course; $5 for two; single admission: $1. Address all inquiries to: **HERBERT APTHEKER,** c/o Adelphi Hall 74 5th Ave., N.Y.C.

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Publications

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Opium

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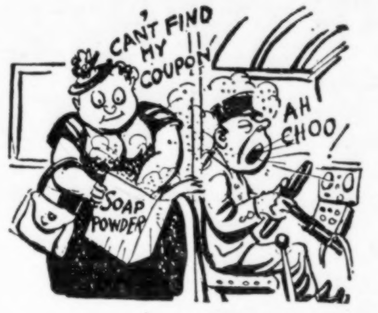
You are to carry the message to those who, because they may be out of work or bankrupt, jump at the conclusion that life and business are something less than wonderful. The LWC was launched a month ago among Spector Freight employes and ever since, life there has been about as wonderful as business.

THE GALLERY

THE EDITORIAL WRITERS (the whimsy boys who write the special pieces on love, baseball and the opening of the trout season) had a field day in New York last week. It seems that the Transit Authority made a deal with a soap company whereby a prospective subway or bus rider could exchange three soap coupons he'd dig out of a box of detergent for a 15-cent ride. The **Times** doubted if this was the way to "clean up deficits," The **Post** suggested that somebody was getting "soft-soaped" and wondered if it would be a "dirty question" to ask how much soap it would take to get the trains running on schedule. Even the Transport Workers Union refused to "work up a lather" over the proposal. But in the midst of all this good clean fun, no one suggested that the Transit Authority might be planning another subway fare increase while the strap-hangers were wiping the suds out of their eyes.


CAN'T FIND MY COUPON!!
AH CHOO!
SOAP POWDER

N.Y. Journal-American

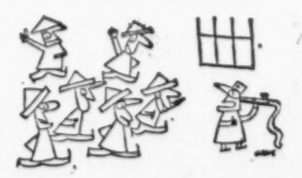
THE UNESCO COURIER recently listed the world's most translated authors in 1956. These were the leaders, with the number of translations: Lenin, 331; Jules Verne, 143; Tolstoy, 134; Gorky, 107; Mickey Spillane, 104. The Bible and Shakespeare trailed Spillane, 99 and 89, respectively. Puzzle: find the cultural lag in the list. . . . Speaking of the Bible, the editors of **Christian Life** are a little worried about those who have sought the Lord and "never found Him." In a helpful mood they write: "First, we would refer you to the Word of God. Start reading the Gospel of John; ask God to make it plain. Then, if you have any further questions, write us at 33 South Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL wants to know if you've heard about the delinquent octopus that fell into a cement mixer: "Just a crazy mixed up squid." . . . A letter writer to the St. Paul **Pioneer Press** took care of Vice President Nixon and the impact of the GOP, internally and externally, in 13 words. He wrote: "In Ramsey County voters do not like Republicans. South America is the same." . . . In honor of the appearance of William Heikkila at the Festival of Nationalities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Camp Midvale, Wanaque, N.J., Sunday, June 29) a Finnish contingent is preparing a meat pie called **wiipurin piirakka**—with two "k's," as in Heikkila. Stanley Nowak, former Michigan state senator, will be there too. For full information call ORegon 4-5058 in New York.

ARE YOU WONDERING WHY your canary (female) sang in the pet shop but stopped soon after you got home? It may be something (male) called testosterone, a recent issue of the magazine **Science** reports. Pet shop proprietors complained that many of their imported birds trilled merrily for a few weeks and then lapsed into silence typical of lady canaries. A team of researchers injected some avian females with the male hormone and found they would sing long enough to sell themselves. In birdland testosterone is known as the hidden persuader.

A STIMULATING EVENING is in store for New Yorkers on Wednesday, June 18, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker. Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of American philosophers, will speak on "Freedom and Liberty" at a coffee-and-dessert gathering ($2.50) sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg of New Haven, Conn., and Dr. Corliss Lamont will also speak. Chairman will be Harvey O'Connor, just back from an exciting six-month trip to Europe and the Middle East. From 7:30 to 8 p.m. Mike Wallace's filmed TV interview with Justice Douglas will be shown. For reservations: ECLC, 421 Seventh Av., N.Y.C. 1. Tel: OXford 5-2863.

RADIO STATION WMGM had its audience in on its attempt to get through by phone to Gen. de Gaulle during France's critical week. They set so much store by the call that they were even ready to interrupt their rock 'n' roll session to present it. Finally they made contact. The music died. An announcer grabbed the mike and announced Gen. de Gaulle with a message for America. This is the way it went:



Canard Enchainé
"A phone call for Napoleon!"

ANNOUNCER: "This is WMGM, General—do you have a statement to make?"

VOICE: "My station in New York is WINS. Vive la France!" (Click.)

LUDWIG ERHARD, West Germany's economics minister, who conceals most of his person in several layers of blubber, was in the U.S. to get an honorary doctor of laws degree at Marquette University in Milwaukee June 4. Asked if he noticed any change in the recession since his last visit here some months ago, he shook his wattles and said: "There is no recession." . . . On the leaner side of the ledger, a Beverly Hills pediatrician told a group of nutrition experts that poor diet was a factor in juvenile delinquency. He reported that a study of 1,100 third-graders showed that many were too tired—because of diet deficiencies—to stay in school.

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GUATEMALAN SKIRTS, new, lovely patterns. Beautifully hand-woven designs in multicolor or white on Black, Blue, Red, Navy, Brown cotton. Waist sizes 24-32. Used to cost $14.95 up.—GBS price, **$10.**

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HAND-MADE HUNGARIAN PEASANT BLOUSES, multicolor and black embroidery on lovely Swiss voile. No two designs alike. Sizes 34-40. A Best Buy for summer, **$5.**
CHILDREN'S SIZES, 6-8-10-12 (multicolors only, no black-on-white), **$4.**

Good New Books

TENDER WARRIORS. The story in words and pictures of our tender warriors in the great movement for equality among all peoples—the children, Negro and white, of the South.

Photographs by Myron Ehrenberg. Text by Dorothy Sterling with Donald Gross. Paperbound. 96 pp., postpaid, $1.50.

HERE I STAND. A mighty book by one of the mightiest of men—Paul Robeson. 128 pages including a 35-page prologue and Author's Preface. Second big printing. New lowered price, paperbound, Postpaid, $1.
SPECIAL BARGAIN OFFER: **Order both books together, postage paid, only $2.**

For Your Table

FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA, luncheon cloths of natural unbleached linen on cotton warp. Blue or green patterns designed for the Swedish market (but we got them.) Will outwear pure linen. Sizes 52x52 in. with four napkins, **$4.** 52x68 in. with six napkins, **$5.**

PURE IRISH LINEN luncheon cloths, homespun weave in solid colors; Blue, Maize, Turquoise, Peach; 52x52 in. with 4 napkins, **$5.** 52x70 in. with six napkins, **$6.**

JAPANESE LINEN cloths, handkerchief-linen weave in solid colors: Blue, Yellow, Gray and Turquoise. 52x52 in. with four extra large napkins, **$5.** 52x70, six napkins, **$6.**

EXCLUSIVE MADAGASCAR RAFFIA TABLE MATS, woven in Hungary. Green or Red pattern on natural raffia color. You can seldom buy pure, full-size raffia mats for less than 50c to $1. Ours are **FOUR FOR $1.**

Budget Gifts

LOVELY PURE SILK SHEER CHIFFON ITALIAN SCARF. As light as gossamer, in multicolor florals, paisleys or Italian market scenes. 27 in. squares. At our price you can afford a drawerful. Exquisite for hostess gifts. Single scarves **75c.** Three for **$2.**

FROM POLAND: charming, colorful, slim, 5-in. hand-turned costume figurines They come apart to make containers for bobby-pins, needles, snack-picks, etc., or simply stand them in pairs to delight the eye. Pair, **$1.**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Where all flowers bloom

SAN FRANCISCO

IN 1949 A BRAVE MAN stepped forward to give a voice to some of the cultural refugees from commercial radio. He was Louis Hill, who left a good radio job to establish, in Berkeley, a non-profit, listener-subscription FM station, KPFA. His first project went broke, but he had won allies who staged a mass-meeting, raised funds and recruited volunteers. Soon, with the help of $30,000 from supporters and $150,000 from the Fund For Adult Education, KPFA was on the air again (at 94.1 mc), this time to stay.

CALIFORNIA
R.J.

What Louis Hill and Pacifica Foundation gave to Bay Area listeners was nothing short of a university, in the broader sense: an organization for the dissemination of learning and culture. Insofar as possible, all the arts, sciences and branches of learning are represented and no viewpoint is excluded. Nothing is taboo except the standard fare of "kept" broadcasting: vulgarity, hypocrisy, propaganda and exploitation.

Listeners can consult KPFA's bi-weekly program folio and tune in on such speakers as Scott Nearing, Joseph Starobin, Alexander Meiklejohn, John W. Powell, Bertrand Russell and Barrows Dunham. We may hear, without apologies or disclaimers, the skipper of the Golden Rule en route to the bomb tests; G. D. H. Cole on "What is Socialism"; Spanish Catholics berating Franco; debates between a Communist and a Trotzkyist, or between Pauling and Teller. Listening at random, I caught Bill Heikkila on the phone from Amsterdam, Norman Cousins pleading that peace is our only defense, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti reading his poem advocating the impeachment of Ike.

BUT BEFORE YOU BUY that one-way ticket to the Golden Gate, be warned that such programs are not typical, and others may leave you frothing at the mouth. Like "The Case for the South African Nationalist Government," from Moseley's fascist journal, or a British Colonel Blimp defending imperialism. If you want to hear Paul Robeson on "Here I Stand" you must be prepared to listen to "I Am a Hindu Nun," or "I was Trotzky's Secretary;" and the price of Heikkila is exposure to his persecutor, Bruce Barber.

We heard one couple explain how and why they had seceded from the Union to form the Republic of Northern California, and a leading expert discussed cannibalism—from the culinary viewpoint. When Allen Ginsberg's police-banned poem was read on the air, numerous hearers complained: By what right had the reader deleted some of the four-letter words? Probing the limits of broad-mindedness, KPFA once let marijuana users broadcast a warm endorsement of the weed; this one almost wrecked the Foundation.

Yet KPFA survived to win a 1958 Peabody Award, the only FM station ever to be so honored. (None was given to network radio this year). In addition, KPFA commentators Colin Edwards and Sidney Roger won two of the four grants under the Fund For Adult Education "Mass Media Leadership Training Program." A remarkable record for a station most of whose speakers and performers are unpaid volunteers, as are many of the other personnel.

ALTHOUGH KPFA DOES NOT shirk its duty to present unpopular viewpoints, its programs are mostly moderate and reflect the basic function of the Foundation: adult education. There is poetry, drama, criticism; the best BBC and CBC offerings are rebroadcast; and at least half the time is devoted to music, ranging from obscure ethnic forms to contemporary Sausalito primitive. KPFA's engineers transmit in the highest Hi-fi, and stereo sound is available via a combination of KPFA and a second channel, KPFB.

Present director Harold Winkler, a former Harvard professor who succeeded the late Louis Hill, wants more listeners, but he fights shy of all pressure groups, and the staff tries to insure the greatest freedom for the widest variety of honest viewpoints, trusting the listener to choose among them.

This seemingly utopian policy has attracted 6,000 subscribers, equalling 2% of the receiving sets in the area. The remainder of the budget is met by assorted angels. Plans for an outlet in the Los Angeles area are well-advanced, FCC approval has been secured and several hundred charter subscribers enrolled, but more are needed. (Write to Box 504-F, Altadena, Calif., for particulars and sample program folio).

If all areas populous enough to support listener-subscription radio at this rate had such projects, the number of potential listeners would be around 50,000,000.

—**John G. Roberts**

Record Albums

THE WEAVERS at Home (Vanguard).

THE WEAVERS on Tour (Vanguard).

THE WEAVERS at Carnegie Hall (Vanguard).

MARTHA SCHLAMME, Folk Songs of Many Lands (Vanguard).

PETE SEEGER with Sonny Terry at Carnegie Hall. (Folkways).

ALL 12" (33-1/3 rpm.) recordings of some of the world's most popular folk songs, by our most beloved artists. List price: $4.95. GBS price, **$3.95.** Any two, **$7.50.**